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The National Peace Congress and Its Results.

The National Peace Congress held in New York last month, of which we give a more detailed report elsewhere in this issue, and some of the speeches in full, proved successful beyond all expectations. In numbers enrolled, in States represented, in size of the audiences, in the ability and representative character of the speakers, in sustained interest and enthusiasm, in stirring and fixing the attention of the public, it surpassed any peace convention ever held in this country, or in any other. New York City was stirred by it as it has probably never before been stirred by any non-political gathering.

The Congress was a revelation to all of us, even to those best acquainted with the extraordinary progress of the peace movement in recent years. It made clear beyond cavil that the wish to see militarism arrested and peace permanently established among the nations is no longer confined to a few advanced spirits of exceptional philanthropic and idealistic turn, but now pervades the rank and file of men and women of all classes, from the ordinary private citizen of the farm, the shop and the office, to the men occupying the highest official positions in public life. Some of us were already aware of the great change taking place in the public mind, but this Congress wrote it out in large letters so that anybody may easily read and understand.

Thousands of the most intelligent men and women, from almost every conceivable kind of organization, coming even from the remotest States of the Union, assembling session after session for four days, in support of what has until recently been regarded by the majority of men as a baseless dream and an impracticable ideal, is an event of the largest import. Cabinet officials were among those assembled, members of Congress, members of the national and the State courts, diplomats of the first rank, governors of States, mayors of cities, representatives of great business organizations, labor leaders, prominent financiers, presidents of universities and colleges, distinguished editors and religious leaders, charity and social reform workers, etc. The number and character of these men and women, and not the mere crowd, great and impressive as that was, nor the speaking, which only on one or two occasions rose much above that of the average peace convention, is what gave its high significance to the Congress. After such a meeting, the ideal of the permanent peace of the world can no longer be called visionary and impracticable. To so characterize it is to impeach the intelligence of the nation.

We are asked what the Congress did, what it accomplished. And this question is asked often in a skeptical tone, as if a peace congress were useless unless it at once puts an end to the whole business of war. Its chief accomplishment was just this demonstration of the wide and powerful hold which the peace cause has taken of the national heart, intelligence and conscience. If it had done nothing else than make this revelation, it would have justified many times over all the exacting labor and the heavy expense of organizing and holding it. Henceforth the peace propaganda in this country, already grown strong and self-reliant, will command public confidence, sympathy and financial support as it has never done before. In this way the practical effect and influence of the Congress throughout the nation will be incalculable. New strength, courage and hope will be felt by the leaders of the movement. New recruits will join them. New centres of propaganda will be created. Young men in the universities and colleges will be quick to discover the opening which this greatest of causes offers them to devote their talents and their culture to the service of humanity. The peace party in Congress, Bartholdt, Burton, Tawney, Hale and others who have been doing such valiant service the past two years,

battling with militarism and helping to organize peace, will feel more than ever that they represent the wishes, the demands and the highest interests of the people, and will push their efforts with increased determination. The press, too, the New York section of which treated the Congress with so much fairness and generousness, may be expected hereafter to be more sympathetic and coöperative than heretofore.

But the greatest and most immediate effect will be the strengthening of the hands of our delegates to the Hague Conference. It was for this purpose primarily that the Congress was organized. And to this end it specifically devoted itself. This object was always before its eyes, whatever else it thought or talked about. An examination of the resolutions adopted (see page 102) will show how strongly the Congress felt the necessity of concentrating its influence toward making the Conference at The Hague as efficient as possible in the treatment of the important subjects to come before it. A few other resolutions were adopted covering peace education in the schools, the general organization of peace work in the universities and colleges, the adequate financing of the peace propaganda, and the neutralization of ocean-trade routes. In some of these directions we may expect large fruitage from the labors of the Congress. But when it came to utter its supreme word, the Congress turned its face toward The Hague, and, as the Interparliamentary Union and other organizations had already done, it demanded, in the name of reason, righteousness, goodwill and all the high interests of mankind, the arbitration by the Hague Court of all international disputes not adjustable by diplomacy, the erection of the Hague Conference into a permanent periodic institution with representatives from all the nations, the practical discussion at The Hague of the urgent question of limitation of armaments, the immunity of all unoffending private property at sea from capture in time of war, and the impartial investigation by friendly powers or commissions of inquiry of any controversies not embraced within the terms of an arbitration convention, before resort to force. With solemn earnestness and singular unanimity the resolutions containing these recommendations were voted by the delegates substantially as they had been reported from Committee.

The spirit of the Congress was admirable in both its clearness and its directness. When President Roosevelt's rather long letter was read, there was respectful attention to what he as the Chief Magistrate of the nation said, but his adroit and labored defense of militarism of an advanced type—for that is what it really was—met with almost no sympathetic response in any part of the vast audience. His theory, advanced on every possible occasion, that thorough preparation for war is the surest guaranty

of peace, fell on this occasion on the unwilling ears of men and women who had thought the matter through and knew that he was radically wrong in this position. They had not come together to bolster up the ignorant and barbarous past, but to assist in bringing in a system of international conduct founded on the principle that the only way to have peace is to prepare for peace, to cultivate and manifest the spirit and the methods of peace. Every reference of the President to this constructive side of the work of peace was as heartily applauded as his reactionary utterances were heard with regret. The same was true on other occasions besides that of the reading of the President's letter. Nothing in the Congress was more remarkable than this solid spirit of opposition to the theory that the peace of the world is to be ushered in by the arts of war.

Though national chiefly in its scope and primary purpose, the Congress turned out to be essentially international. At least, it illustrated the intimate way in which the nations are now bound together and their interests felt to be the same. The distinguished men from abroad who attended the Congress, after having been Mr. Carnegie's guests at the opening of the Pittsburg Institute, were listened to with the same interest and sympathy as if they had been Americans. Indeed, the fact that they were foreigners served to intensify and make conspicuous the international and universal spirit which pervaded the Congress, as a national gathering, to a marked degree. Besides this, warm messages of greeting came from over sea, from the King of Italy, the King of Norway, the President of Switzerland, the Netherlands government, the Nobel Committee, the Swedish Interparliamentary Group, the International Peace Bureau, etc. Though some of the European newspapers made light of the Congress, as they make light of everything that does not glisten with steel and smell of gunpowder, the power of the great New York gathering was deeply felt among European peoples, and it will be still more strongly felt, in official as well as popular circles, when our delegates arrive at The Hague and begin to express the wishes of our government and people as to what should be done in that world-conference in furtherance of the world's high interests and peace.

Notes on the National Peace Congress.

Mr. Carnegie, though not present at all the sessions, was naturally the foremost figure in the Congress. It was only through his generous assistance that it had been possible to organize the Convention on so large and impressive a scale. In his remarks both at the opening of the Congress and at other times he showed clearly that his interest in the cause of peace has steadily grown deeper and stronger. He pleaded, as he has often done before, for the abolition of the murder of man by man under the name of war, and for the creation of a League of the Nations, so powerful as to make war everywhere